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# WAR'S FOLLY *and* FUTILITY



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# WAR'S FOLLY *and* FUTILITY



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1913





## FOREWORD

This pamphlet has been printed and published at the expense of my friend and comrade, A. G. Wagner, of Henning, Minnesota. For some years I have put upon paper thoughts excited by current events and writings relating thereto that have appeared in books, magazines and newspapers that I have read. During recent years I have entertained a wish and hope that sometime, by some accident, I should obtain means that would permit me to print and publish what I had written in book form. In the event that I am sometime able to thus please and gratify vanity, the subject matter of this pamphlet will be made a chapter in the book. Moved by desire for such sympathy, approval and criticism as might be found among friends I have, from time to time, placed in their hands some of my manuscripts. Of the five friends to whom I thus gave the original draft of what now is herein presented under title of "The Folly and Futility of War," Wagner was one. He suggested that it be printed and published immediately, and separately, generously (perhaps foolishly) offering to bear the expense—hence the offense.

I have not the skill and training which those who are capable acquire through time devoted to literary work, and because of this lack I have probably failed to present what I have written as happily and convincingly as another might. However, to avoid error of statement and inference I have been as careful and painstaking as incapacity and prejudice would permit and it is my hope that my defects have not operated to prevent my presenting fact and inference with reasonable fairness and accuracy. Faults in composition, or occasional error of statement and inference will not affect validity of the general scope of reasoning in any material connection, nor deter the intelligent and fair-minded from acceptance of that which is proven.

It is in the nature of human nature to accept as true the agreeable and usual; and to reject as error the disagreeable and unusual. No one is able to get rid of erroneous belief, illusion, and prejudice and assume a mental attitude free from their influence to an extent which will permit acceptance of truth from every source and in any form in which it may appear; and the average of mankind only accept that which coincides with predispositions born of beliefs and prejudices that are agreeable but have little or no foundation in fact. The operation of the inflexible forces of nature has moved, and will, in future, move people to turn from illusion and accept reality as a guide, and effect modifications of belief in the direction of nearer approach of truth, but change has ever been slow and laborious in effectuation, and must so continue.

The historic record of "superior" and "progressive" peoples, written by themselves, show without material variation or exception that the "superior" and "progressive" peoples have been the original aggressors in all conflicts with "inferior" peoples and "barbarous savages." The advantages possessed by "superior" peoples and the extreme improbability, not to say impossibility, of their being invaded, conquered, crowded out and supplanted by "inferior" peoples are too obvious to require mention. Yet people who boast most of their intelligence and are most insistent in claiming superiority over all others devote their best talent and greatest energy to the up-keep of big military establishments as a provisional defense against an anticipated and feared invasion by some "inferior"

but warlike people. If an individual complains of having "bad neighbors" almost invariably the cause will be found with the complainant. If nations have "natural enemies" they are, without exception, of their own making; and this is especially true in its application to the United States.

Because it was agreeable to the beliefs which move people to support and defend existing political governments the doctrine set forth by Dr. Malthus in his book entitled "The Principle of Population," published a century ago, has been generally accepted as being true. Malthus asserted that the cause of Poverty, with incident misery, was to be found in the fact, that human fecundity outran earth's productivity; that population increased in geometrical ratio, while the productivity of earth went forward in arithmetical ratio. If the proposition were true, which it is not, its practical demonstration must be deferred until such time as every habitable portion of the earth became fully occupied—something which has never yet taken place in any extended area, however densely it may have been populated. Nowhere on earth have people ever been reduced to want and suffering because of earth's failure to produce enough. If at times, and in localities, enough was not produced, or was unavailable, it has been due to restraints upon liberty, and to defective mechanism connected with that part of production which economists have chosen to call Distribution. Limitations imposed by political governments have kept the people from access to the earth, and prevented them from completing production through proper and equitable distribution. The cause of Poverty and Misery, everywhere in the world resides in and proceeds from "Taxation!" When note is taken of the fact that even in this "most favored" Nation one half the earnings of the people are forcibly taken from them, directly or indirectly, by the taxing power of various and numerous political governments, the Cause of Poverty becomes too obvious to be disputed. Much the greater part of the enormous sums wrested from people through taxation is spent for war purposes; and the spirit of aggression which everywhere moves people to seek and embrace opportunity to prey upon each other is inculcated by militant activities. Compulsory taxation in its essence is a warlike aggression. It is impossible that the burden of compulsory exactions should be equitably distributed; and that which is inequitable is anti-social—warlike in character. When people become wise enough to refuse to engage in war they will not tolerate the spoliation of compulsory taxation.

—A. W. WRIGHT

Pontiac, Michigan, August, 1913.

# WAR'S FOLLY and FUTILITY

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For thousands of years the wise men of the world have ignored Agriculture, engaged but little in any industrial activity, and devoted thought and energy to Conquest and the building of Empires. The hope of gaining military leadership with its fame; the desire for dominion, with its pomp and pageantry, led men of greatest capacity, and best intellectual equipment to devote themselves to purposes and ends which degraded, and impoverished mankind instead of enlightening and enriching them.

Agriculture is the most fundamental of industries. It was the first to be learned and is the last in being developed. For ages the soil was prepared for seed with wooden plows drawn by oxen, often by the puny strength of human hands. There were no harrows, the work being miserably done with brush or sticks tied together with withes, or thongs cut from untanned skins. The harvest was laboriously accomplished with the aid of sickle by hand. Each bushel of grain represented hours and hours of fatiguing hand work. Famines were frequent, separated, in occurrence, by but few years; often prevailing uninterruptedly through several succeeding years. Millions upon millions of people perished miserably for lack of food. At the same time the governments under which these people lived were most elaborate, having vast military establishments consisting of great armies and navies. The best strength of the nation; the wisdom of its best men were employed in devastating all other countries, destroying all other peoples for the upbuilding and glory of Empire! The tiller of the soil was "brother to the ox," a mere thing, unworthy of even momentary thought or consideration.

Out of war and conquest has grown the perversion of moral vision that refuses to see wrong in obtainment of something for nothing. It is for an invading host to seize upon the resources of the invaded, thus sustain itself; and in the event

of conquering success, to thereafter impose taxation as a means of popular exploitation that is to remain permanent and uninterrupted.

When the taxing power is analyzed; when its purpose and its effect upon those in whose hands the power rests is noted, the slowness with which agriculture has reached even the crude development of today is explained. Tilling the soil is laborious and results uncertain, while farming farmers is easy and results certain.

In peaceful agriculture there is neither fame nor glory. A great name enduringly engraved on a memorial tablet of bronze or stone is not to be dug from the earth like a bushel of wheat. The glory of enduring fame has been and remains for men who organize great armies, engage in carnage, murderous destruction, shedding seas of human blood. Men who employ wit and energy in war; men having the power to tax the tiller of the soil and thus despoil him, look upon his vocation with aversion, and treat him with contemptuous disregard. Educationally war and its objects became the exciting cause which turned men of superior intelligence from agriculture and made militancy as an organized profession possible.

The war spirit is now everywhere dominant. Almost without exception the heads of national agencies, reinforced and sustained by the priests of the religion of love, unitedly lift their voices for war! That primitive peoples, with little intellectual development, low ethical and moral standards, devoted to rude and barbarous practices, should engage in war against neighboring tribes seems in accord with their nature. But war is clearly incompatible with what might be reasonably expected of people who declare themselves intelligent and to be devoted to pursuits in harmony with ethical and moral requirements of a civilization having basis in a religion of love and a belief that all men are brothers. Are the declarations and professions of professing Christians to be accepted as true, or as sheer declamation and pretense.

The records of the past present proof in abundance showing the futility of war; but "statesmen," politicians and priests are devoted to upholding agreeable beliefs and alleged principles so they have no time to even consider, much less to heed, lessons from facts. The few who hold property, and live comfortably, remain indifferent, while the masses who carry the load are kept so busy sustaining militancy and getting necessities for existence that they have no time for inquiry or thought. As a result the people of all the "progressive" nations of the earth remain subject to conditions of war; filled with obsessions that Justice depends upon physical force, and the ultimate resource for righting wrongs resides in appeal to arms!

For efficacy and effectiveness in obtainment of ends sought, passive resistance has never received deserved consideration.



An attitude of passive resistance, as a means of defense against aggression, has in it nothing to commend itself to the spirit whereby would-be rulers of mankind are animated. And yet, in the few known instances where, because of happy accident, or intelligent design, passive resistance has been made the resource for obtainment of desired ends and has been resolutely adhered to, it has never failed of successful issue.

About the middle of the 17th century a few non-resistant Quakers, less than twenty of whom were active in offending, successfully defied the power and authority of Massachusetts. They were pursued, arrested and prosecuted for a time, but Governor Endicott was finally forced to admit the futility of it all, and to allow the non-resistants to proceed with their work and hold their meetings unmolested. It is true a few were made to undergo grievous sufferings. They were arrested, tried and imprisoned. In extreme cases, some had ears cut off, tongues pierced with red hot iron, cheeks branded, and one, a woman, was hanged. But suppose the Quakers had elected to meet force with force? Their defeat would not only have proved certain, but if they had persisted, they would have been exterminated. By remaining passive, limiting resistance to Authority solely to be manifested through peaceful meetings, they not only gained all they sought, but obtained it at least possible cost in hardship and suffering.

View the policy of the Puritans in their dealings with and treatment of the Indians of New England; the scenes of horror and bloodshed that resulted and compare with the policy of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, and the practically undisturbed peace and harmony in which they and the Indians lived side by side.

When Stanley undertook the expedition to "Darkest Africa" in search of Livingston, his party went fully armed. They anticipated hostility, and they found it. The expedition encountered few tribes with which it did not have trouble. Warfare was almost continuous, and the course of the expedition across the continent was marked with a trail of blood.

A few years ago Professor Starr of Chicago University visited and crossed the African continent for the purpose of studying the habits of Apes, and to ascertain if they had and employed a language with which to converse. His party went unarmed. Routes hitherto unknown were taken and tribes not before visited by white men were encountered. Some of these tribes were composed of cannibals. But being approached in an attitude of friendliness the natives everywhere responded in kind. Starr and his party offered harm to none, and they were not harmed. Such difficulties as arose from mutual misunderstandings were easily adjusted and the journeyings of the expedition proved peaceful from beginning to end.

In Russia there is a small sect composed of religious fanatics known to the external world as Dukhobors. A few years ago a

portion of them refused to serve in the army. Cossacks were sent against them to enforce compliance, but people who refused to meet force with force were not to be shot into submissive states of obedience. The Czar of all the Russias, sustained and backed by a million bayonets suffered defeat at the hands of a few unarmed, poverty-stricken, non-resistant peasants. A few of the Dukhobors were killed, a few more were wounded, but the victory was theirs; the Czar with all his power was successfully defied and forced to acknowledge defeat, to recognize the Dukhobor's claims and give a reluctant consent to emigration. If they had put up an armed resistance they would have suffered annihilation. Two or three thousand of them left Russia, going to Canada, where they settled. The Canadian government is now having trouble with them because of their refusal to pay taxes on land occupied. If they remain firm in their attitude and adhere to resolution, the Canadian government will be powerless against them. It is impossible that even so inconsiderable a number as two thousand people should be made to pay tax upon land against their will. Also, impossible that they should be taken up bodily, forcibly evicted and deported.

A few years ago in Ireland, in connection with trouble growing out of tenant occupancy of parcels of land, the tenants had recourse to the Boycott. It is the opinion of intelligent observers of scenes and events of those days who viewed the situation at close range, that if the tenants, at the critical time and point, had not allowed themselves to have been persuaded by the priests, into abandonment of the boycott, they would have succeeded in obtainment of recognition of their claims. But in consequence of abandonment of a policy of passive resistance, expressed through an intelligently applied boycott, they suffered denial and defeat.

In connection with political freedom for Ireland it remains a fact that obtainment has not been gained because never wisely attempted. The original conquest of Ireland by Saxons was effected through co-operation and aid of Irishmen; and during all the days of all the centuries since the invasion and conquest, the sole essential requisite for freedom has resided in Irish hands. It has been necessary only, that Irishmen should stand together in refusing to recognize England's authority and to refuse to serve as soldiers in the English Army!

It is the habit of people with white skins to speak contemptuously of the Chinese as a people who are lacking in "military virtues." But why is it that the civilization of the Chinese remains as the most stable and enduring of any the world has ever seen, or of which the world has ever known? The mightiest empires of earth have come into being, flourished for a time, sunk into decadence and passed away. Of these empires of the past their strongest and most intelligent men devoted their highest talent and energy to War! The "non-

progressive" Chinese have clung to pursuits of peace. So insistent and firmly resolved were they in adherence to policies of peace that they refused to fight warlike neighbors to obtain it; and along the northern border of their country they built a gigantic wall 1,200 miles long, to the end that fighting, marauding enemies should be kept out. By war their enemies perished and disappeared, but the Chinese lived and went serenely on. Think of "progressive" peoples—professing Christian virtue and forbearance, adopting and adhering to methods of defense similar to those made so effective by the Chinese!

In one of his public lectures while Minister from China to the United States, Wu was reported as having said that China was for forty-five centuries, without a soldier! Whatever of loss or inconvenience the Chinese people may have been made to suffer through invasive attacks from warlike outsiders they were never made to bear the infinitely greater losses and privations involved in an up-keep of a big military establishment. The nation was always able to pay as it went; and until the Great Powers, of which the United States was one, demanded and obtained an enormous indemnity to defray cost of an unwarranted interference with China's internal affairs and to pay private claims for damages because of riotous disturbances in and about the Chinese Capitol City during the "Boxer" outbreak, there was no public debt. The nation had been able to get along without incurring debt because war had been avoided; and it's people had never been borne down with crushing loads of taxation necessitated by war or the upkeep of a great military establishment. Compare the treasuries of the "progressive" nations of Europe, that of the United States, their tremendous war debts, and continuous necessity for enormous taxation with that of China. Does the comparison presented imply or convey no lesson?

Under the influence of a "great illusion" and unscrupulous motive the rulers of European countries have sought territorial aggrandizement. The countries of Asia and Africa have been invaded, vast areas seized, occupied and held with military force. Recently influenced by the same "illusion" the United States has engaged in similar adventure and acquired "Island Possessions."

In view of what has been done by these powerful "progressive," and Christian nations in connection with invasion and conquest of countries inhabited by "inferior peoples" can it be doubted by any intelligent observer, that the territorial integrity of China today, is due solely to the fact that the Chinese people have been contemptuously looked upon as being "too contemptible to fight?" That partition and division of China has been entertained and discussed by fatuous rulers and "statesmen" is no secret. It is certain that no ethical or moral consideration operated as a deterrent. No consideration having

to do with the welfare and well-being of the Chinese stayed the absorbing benevolence or the assimilating itch of Christian hands. All dark skinned peoples who have resisted invasion of their countries thus far, with a few minor, but only one important exception, (Abyssinia) were conquered and made subject to an alien military despotism. The situation of these people has been made infinitely worse and more hopeless than if they had not lifted a hand in self-defense. If the Chinese had been warlike, is it not more than probable that provocation for attack and invasion would have been already found and conquest and "partition" of their country been made actual instead of remaining a speculative contemplation?

In imitation and under tutelage of alien and "progressive" peoples the Chinese are now being betrayed into militancy; and to engage themselves with the fatality of self-armament and the up-keep of a military organization. As a result and at the very outset, the Chinese government finds itself forced into the debt-buying marts of the world to effect sale of bonds representing a considerable national debt. After enjoying the blessings of many centuries of peace, it is astonishing that such a reversal of policy and attitude should be made and it remains to be seen how far the Chinese people will permit themselves to be led into the criminal follies and futilities of militancy. If adhered to, the beginning of China's decadence will have been marked—a decadence to be followed by speedy decline, ultimate exhaustion and a final disappearance of Chinese autonomy.

Whatever threat there may have been or now is to Christian civilizations from the "Yellow Peril," exists nowhere except in the superheated imaginations of would-be great military Captains and their sympathizers. But, suppose, that the recent astonishing reversal of policy and change of attitude on the part of the Chinese has the effect of making the heretofore imaginary "Yellow Peril" actual and imminent; and let it be further supposed that the Chinese so successfully emulate and pursue the policies and activities of Christian nations that they conquer and subjugate all the peoples of all the countries of the world, what will have been the probable result in its effect upon the all-conquering Chinese themselves? Only this, that in conquering the world its conquerors will have so completely exhausted all resources as to have reduced themselves to a common level of suffering, poverty, destitution and misery along with the conquered. The testimonies of the past show that armament for defense and preparedness to resist invasion does not shield and safeguard, but operates to deny declaration of peaceful intention, and therefore to excite and provoke attack from onlooking outsiders.

The testimony from India proves beyond controversy that if the people of that unhappily ruled country had, like the Chinese, devoted themselves to pursuits of peace, establishment



of the iron rule of England would have remained unthought of—there would have been no provoking excitation. In the beginning, in the interest of their respective countries, Dupliex and Clive played off rival bands of native forces against each other, until Clive, more skillful in strategy than Dupliex, gained the advantage. Later came the tragedy of the "Black Hole" wherewith to conjure and appeal to British passions. From the horror of the Black Hole dates the actual establishment of British Empire of India. And now, after more than 150 years of uninterrupted supremacy and rule, if the native soldiery should refuse to bear arms in support of England's rule, her Empire would at once fall and disappear into nothingness as quickly as a summer's mist.

When England invaded and occupied Egypt as bailiff in the interest of British bondholders, Fuzzy Wuzzy resisted—he resisted with such vigor and valor that he "broke the English Square!" Something that no other of the world's fighting men ever did. But of what avail his heroic resistance and most bloody sacrifice? The fighting men of England took off their hats in admiring recognition of Fuzzy Wuzzy's valor; but he was defeated, subjected to conditions of slavery and still remains in servitude. If in refusing to recognize England's claim he had declined to fight, denied England's authority by ignoring it and gone about the business of satisfying his wants as best he could, he would have thereby made England, with all her might, powerless to subdue and subjugate. Fighting men when opposed by greater numbers, greater resources, or superior strategy are easily overcome and reduced to states of submission; but men capable of self-control, wise enough to remain quiet and calmly look would-be invaders in the eye and who are brave enough to refuse to fight remain invincible and unconquerable.

That a people subject to foreign rule should become restless and that a people so situated should seek relief and adopt measures for obtainment of freedom, is in the nature of things. But it does not follow that any and all means adopted shall be viewed as having been justifiable. Intensity of outraged feeling due to exasperating irritations to which people despotically ruled are continuously subjected moves them to employ violent measures for relief, and supercharged feeling is set up in excuse and justification; but the penalty for unwisdom may not be thus set aside and averted. The sense of deep injury, the consuming anger born of it, the zeal and enthusiasm which fires people in a struggle for freedom, makes them incapable of listening to and heeding the voice of reason and they are thereby betrayed into all kinds of intemperance of action; but the penalty for acts of folly must be paid. However desirable an end sought, it's obtainment through acts of violence and bloodshed always proves more costly, while it remains less sure, than rational and peaceful measures.

Suppose an appeal to arms and war's arbitrament involves sacrifice of 100 units of life, an expenditure of 100 units of effort, the undergoing of 100 units of privation, with proportionate amounts of suffering and misery; when obtainment of all that was sought might have been secured at a cost of one unit of life and expenditure of one unit of effort, the hardship of one unit of privation with proportionately diminished suffering and misery, if peaceful methods had been adopted and adhered to. May appeal to arms and going to war still be viewed and judged as a reasonable and justifiable resource?

The revolt of the American colonies against the rule of England is universally spoken of and accepted as having been a righteous undertaking. The appeal to arms for obtainment of political freedom was in accord with practice and resulted in final success; but all that was so painfully and laboriously gained could have been obtained without firing a shot, or the undergoing of the terrible and countless privations and the awful sufferings of a long and bloody war. At the close of the revolutionary struggle the whole American people were reduced to deepest depths of poverty and destitution. Immense sacrifices had been made. Thousands had given up their lives, a vastly greater number of thousands were so shattered and broken in health by wounds, disease and hardships endured that they survived the war's close but a short time; and very few participants recovered fully from injuries received during that prolonged and terrible struggle. They gained freedom, but at what a cost! A cost as needless as it had been terrible.

Subject to constant and exasperating irritation it is to be expected that resentment and anger thus kindled, should at last flame into passionate and uncontrollable outburst; that people so affected should be moved to intemperance of speech and act, but, as has just been said, however deep the sense of injury and however natural intensity of feeling may be, justification for acts of folly, or escape from penalty, is not made possible because of uncontrollability of emotions.

War rights no wrongs—it deepens and intensifies them. There is always an enormous debit balance. All that is gained through war invariably costs more than it is worth. War never builds up nor conserves; it always tears down and destroys. It operates as a paralyzing blight upon industrial activity and every refining and civilizing influence. It brutalizes every human instinct. It impoverishes victor and vanquished alike. All the “progressive” peoples of the earth are today being borne down and crushed by an enormous load of taxation made necessary for up-keep of military establishments and the payment of interest on gigantic war debts. The notion that people are or can be protected against foreign invasion and spoliation through self-armament and a readiness for war has no basis in fact. Armed militancy enslaves and despoils those who employ

it for defense as certainly and completely as it does those against whom its force is aggressively directed. The agencies of a friendly, home-grown, home-supported military establishment will take from a loyal people all that is required for its up-keep, and hostile militancy cannot take more.

Freedom of action for anybody, in any capacity or connection, is incompatible with the requirements of militant organization; everything must be made subordinate to military exigency. Such obtainments and recognitions of freedom for individuals as have been gained came into being in spite of war-like activities and not at all because of them. As a result of war nothing more than change of ruler, or change in form of despotism has ever been gained. All that the colonists gained through separation from England was opportunity to set up a political despotism, directed and controlled by native professional politicians, in place of despotic rule of England, directed and controlled by foreign professional politicians.

If the people of Boston and vicinity had taken counsel of reason, instead of listening to incendiary talk and heeding advice of agitators, no such indefensible exploit as the "Boston Tea Party," would have taken place. The shippers of the tea destroyed had nothing to do with putting a tax on tea; and if they had, they, nor the power of England behind them could compel the people of Boston to buy and drink the tea. At about the same time other shipments were made to Philadelphia and Charleston. The people at these places simply declared they would neither buy nor use the tea and adhered to their resolution. Nothing of violence or destruction of property was engaged in. After the war was over the tea, mouldy and musty with age, was returned to England by its owners where they disposed of it as best they could. The owners of the tea had no cause for cherishing bitterness of feeling against the people to whom it had been originally shipped, and the people of Philadelphia and Charleston had no unjustifiable act to regret.

It may have been that no troops would have been sent to Boston if the people of that place had been less intemperate in their speech and acts. None were sent elsewhere until after an attitude of open hostility had been assumed. All petitions having been denied, suppose the colonists had through orderly mass meetings or delegate conventions, declared for political independence, set about effecting such self-governing arrangements as were deemed necessary, and then devoted themselves to private and domestic affairs and peaceful industry, what could England have done to regain political allegiance to itself? How could governing control of the colonies been regained? Suppose as many or even more troops had been sent to America than were sent, what could have been done with them? Of what avail are soldiers against a people who will not fight? Some seizures of property for non-payment of taxes might have



been made, probably would have been made, but what could have been done with the property? It could not have been sold in America and very little could have been taken abroad. In all probability numerous persons would have been arrested, tried, imprisoned, and some executed. But no great number could have been shot or hanged. And would more of hardship and suffering have resulted from property confiscations and arbitrary imprisonment of individuals than was borne by all the people during seven years of actual war and for many years thereafter? Suppose England had persisted in confiscatory seizures of property and imprisoning of individuals for as many years as the war lasted? It would have been impossible that a tithe of the loss actually experienced during the war could have been made; and nowhere near as many persons could have been imprisoned as were killed or permanently disabled. But in the face of the whole world whose sympathies would have been with the oppressed colonists, England could no more have carried out, year after year, a policy of intimidation and subjugation by confiscation of property and general imprisonment of people, than she could have successfully employed troops against non-resistants.

Another thing, during the whole progress of the war there was a formidable opposition to it in England. The conflict between Authority and Liberty was being waged between the two political parties of England *pari passu* with that waged in the colonies. It is more than probable, therefore, that the English government would not have dared to further provoke and further arouse opposing opinion of the home public by projecting an armed invasion in the midst of a people engaged only in passive resistance to home authority. A protest from the whole world would have been forthcoming; an adverse opinion, world-wide in its generality is too powerful in its respect-compelling force to be ignored or resisted by even the mightiest of nations; for in respect to such influences, nations like individuals, cannot remain indifferent and refuse to heed. Continuous refusal to recognize, and defiance of, general opinion requires more of fortitude and endurance than mankind possesses either in individual or collective capacity. The liberals in England gained a majority and effected a bloodless revolution, the American colonies easily could have done the same. And will anybody who loves peace, who loves truth, deny that the force of such a glorious achievement and example would have failed to operate as a sure and lasting guide for all mankind? And that its effect would have been to stay the bloody hand of war to the end that during all the years since that noteworthy struggle wars would have been less numerous, and there would have been less of needless sacrifice of human life and happiness?

It is to observe and note the significance of what men have done who have gone before. It is not to censure the men of '76

for engaging in war with the mother country; they acted in accord with the lights they had, they were not wise enough to adopt and resolutely adhere to a policy of passive resistance. There were too many Puritans and too few Quakers among them. The aggressive spirit of dominion, self-assertion, fierce intolerance, and desire for conquest, which animated the Puritans overshadowed and nullified the gentle spirit of brotherly love, sweet tolerance, and non-aggressive attitude habitual to the Quakers. The men of those days did the best they knew, but if they had been wiser and political independence had been gained by a peaceful and bloodless revolution, future growth and development of the country inevitably, would have proceeded along different and happier lines. War's devastations and a reduction of the people to states of deep privation and penury would not have been experienced. Interruptions to industrial activity before independence was gained would have been few, infrequent, and inconsequent in general effect. Instead of having been reduced to the verge of complete exhaustion the people would have remained strong and prosperous, ready to go forward at once; with mighty bound, when political independence became an established fact. The form of political organization effected, probably, would have been genuinely republican, instead of oligarchical; but, whatever the form, its essence would have been in harmony with the needs of a people devoted to peaceful industry, with its mutual and reciprocal relations. There would have been little or no thought—certainly no dominating thought—of a political organization calculated to fulfill requirement of a nation devoted to war and conquest!

Perhaps peace policies might not have been consistently adhered to at all times, but at least the barren war of 1812, the inexcusable war with Mexico, and more recently with Spain, would never have occurred. The folly of the second war with England and the subsequent Mexican and Spanish infamies would have remained impossible, and the people of the United States would have been spared the ignominy, the infinite shame and disgrace of having so far forgot themselves and every consideration of humanity and justice, as to have engaged in wars so despicable. Nor would the policies of the United States have been so shaped as to excite the suspicion and distrust of all the peoples of Central and South American countries. There never would have been any tremendous internecine conflict deluging the country with brothers' blood.

No other historical event presents so convincing an illustration of the futility of appeal to arms as the Civil War. The causes which moved the people of the North and South to engage in that terrible conflict need not be inquired into. The people of the South, at least a dominating majority, wished to withdraw from the Federal Union and set up a political organization and government of their own. Sincerity of desire and

purpose were amply proved by four years of struggle accompanied by unparalleled sacrifice of life, destruction of property, privation and suffering. It is enough to know that the South desired political independence, that their heroic struggle and tremendous sacrifice to gain the end sought met with failure complete and miserable.

Having decided upon withdrawal from the Federal Union, suppose the people of the South, while resolutely holding to determination, had refrained from threat or act implying intention of employing physical force? After passing ordinances of Secession, suppose they had quietly gone about their usual activities? Contenting themselves, whenever occasion required, with declaration of wish and purpose; and with clearly defined denials of validity of any claim set up, on the part of the government of the United States, for exercise of any governing jurisdiction over them; and that resistance to the authority of the United States had been expressed only in refusal to recognize or obey, what could the federal government, or the people of the North have done about it?

It was the shot at Sumter that fired the hearts and indignation of the people of the North, and made the raising and equipment of a conquering army of more than a million of men, possible. If the people of the South had simply declared for secession, gone about their daily business, with no thought of armed resistance, the government of the United States would have remained powerless to compel obedience. Just as certainly as it is impossible that a whole people, inhabiting a considerable area, shall be indicted and proceeded against in a criminal court, so it remains impossible that a people who refuse to engage in war shall be conquered and subjugated by war. Even if the sentiment of the people of the North had been unanimous and united in favor of backing up the Federal Government in attempt to coerce the South with bayonets it would have been impossible that it should have been done; for the sentiment of the whole world beside would have been against it, and in the face of adverse opinion of world-wide generality no nation is powerful enough to proceed.

If the people of the South had simply declared to the people of the United States and to the world, that they had set up a political government of their own, and that all peoples, acting either in individual or collective capacity who wished to have dealings or communication with them could do so only through such channels as were singular to the people and government of the Confederate States within those States; that having severed all political connection with the United States, it was impossible that intercourse or communication should be sustained through any agency or department of that government, it would have taken a little while for readjustment—there would have been something of confusion and inconvenience—perhaps



much of it, but it would not have been for long. Suppose, however, that much of confusion and annoying inconvenience had been suffered; and that it had continued for as long a time as the war itself lasted; as long as all the dismal years during which the horrors of "reconstruction" were being forcibly imposed upon the prostrate people of the South, would there have been a millionth part of the sacrifice, privation, intensity of suffering, and bitterness of humiliation that resulted from four years of unsuccessful war?

It is to be remembered that notwithstanding the warlike attitude assumed from the first by the people of the South, the extreme provocation involved in and the intense indignation and excitement caused by firing on Sumter, there remained much diversity and variance of opinion among the people of the North. There was a very considerable number who were not in favor of "vigorous prosecution of the war!" and if the South had not engaged itself in preparation for war and actually began hostilities, there would have been few to demand that the Federal Government should engage itself in war to keep the South in the Union, or to approve and support it in the undertaking.

It cannot be doubted that the South would have achieved its desire and gained political separation and independence from the United States if it had adopted and resolutely adhered to peaceful measures for obtainment. It is not to be expected that in present states of human imperfection in intellectual, ethical and moral development, that people shall so control feeling as to permit intelligent action in the presence of exasperating irritations, oft repeated and long endured; but this has nothing to do with, nor does it weaken the cogency of facts showing the absurdity and futility of engaging in war for obtainment of relief.

The people of the South desired political independence. On the altar of Desire they offered themselves a blood sacrifice, suffering all the horrors and privations of four years of war, only to bring upon themselves utter defeat and in addition all the bitterness of humiliation involved in a long period of enforced subordination to an inferior race. If the end sought justified all the horrors endured; if the effort was worth what it cost; how infinitely greater in worth would have been a course which, certainly, would have been crowned with success. If it would have been a noble and glorious achievement to have gained independence through war as it would have been historically considered, how much more noble and glorious to have gained it without striking a blow or the shedding of a drop of blood? What an example for future generations! If the South had declined to engage in armed conflict for obtainment of its "rights," it would not only have gained all contended for, but the glory of its wisdom would have illumined the world, and by

its splendid example had the effect of unfettering and freeing all the oppressed peoples of earth. The world today would not be a vast military camp, filled with worse than useless fighting men; the most of mankind would not now be propertyless; one-half of the people of earth would not now be living in poverty, squalor and misery; and all because their substance was being forcibly taken from them to sustain conditions of war!

Perhaps not all of the wars that have been fought during the past fifty years would have been averted; but in the light of such an example—with object gained, as would have been presented by the South's achievement, people everywhere would have received intellectual and moral illumination sufficient to have made them too wise to approve and yield themselves to ambitions and purposes of alleged statesmen, and the direction of reverend savages who "battle for the Lord," and ever clamor for war!

The institution of African slavery would have persisted for a time, but not for long. Its economic error had been recognized by many, if not most of the people of the South—it did not pay. The development of ethical and moral perception has ever depended upon utilitarian considerations. People did not perceive, accept and adopt rules of common honesty in dealing with one another, until it became apparent that "honesty was the best policy." So it was with the holding of human beings as chattels in slavery. It was not viewed as a moral wrong until after involved economic error became too obvious to be longer ignored. Abolition of slavery in the South had become inevitable. If the South had gained its independence, slavery could not have been perpetuated. The sentiment of the world was against it. Its abolition would have been effected gradually, however, without violence, without bitterness of feeling affecting anybody. Master nor slave would have been made to suffer the fears, terrors, hardships or privations involved in sudden termination as an exigency of war. There would have been nothing of mutual distrust and enmity between the races.

In blood and suffering, in expiation for the sin of slavery, the people of the whole country have been made to pay a terrible price. A nominal freedom for the negro has been purchased at a price involving actual enslavement of all—both white and black—to the requirements and up-keep of a big military establishment and the policies of a great "World Power," devoted to conquest and territorial aggrandizement.

The North American continent would have been divided into four separate political jurisdictions instead of three as now, but the difference in effect upon industrial activities, the welfare and well-being of the people, because of that, would have been merely nominal. There would have been no sectional wounds to heal. The people, North and South, would not have been affected with deep resentments, long persisting animosities, intense



hatreds and the bitterness of feeling which grew out of four years of dreadful war; and the miserable years of ill-advised "reconstruction" which followed. The interests of the people of both sections being mutual and reciprocal, recognition and conformity to requirements of identity of interest would have become mutual and reciprocal.

The evils which grew out of the Civil War were numerous; and in effect were monstrous in their cruelty and injustice, and many of them still persist with increased force and malevolence. Whatever the form or nominal character of a government, once war is engaged in, everything must be made subordinate to war's purpose, and the government becomes resolved into a military despotism. Very soon after the beginning of the Civil War, at numerous places throughout the North citizens suspected of disloyalty were seized with considerable frequency; and, without examination or trial, turned over to the military and imprisoned in fortresses. By those in authority the exigencies of war were made the excuse and justification for acts and measures whereby all the traditions and former policies of the nation in its past were ignored, set aside, reversed or inverted, and complete political revolution effected. From its beginning, and up to the time of the Civil War, it was held that the general government of the United States was one of delegated powers; that its sphere and scope was limited to and within the powers delegated. While since those unhappy days the claim and practice has been that any and all power, not expressly inhibited by the Constitution, may and shall be exercised.

As a war measure, and affected by influences which worked to nullify the Constitution, the Congress was moved to engage itself with legislation whereby a banking system, born of long years of costly experience, which was rapidly growing into conditions of soundness and splendid efficiency, was arbitrarily destroyed and the crude, imperfectly devised National Banking arrangement set up in its place. If there had been no Civil War the country would have been spared all the privations incident to prevalence of abnormally high rates of interest during a period of more than fifty years, and all the terrors and frightful monetary losses that have come to its people because of four disastrous panics. Conditions bordering on financial disturbance and panic have been manifested at some time during almost every year for more than forty years; and there have been two panics during which distress remained acute for more than five years. The one of '73 beginning with the failure of Jay Cooke & Company; the other of '93 beginning with the failure of Baring Bros. of London in 1890.

There had been two panics prior to the war period—those of 1837 and 1857. Those panics were intensified, if not actually caused by the fact that a great majority of the banks of the

country were organized and conducted along lines laid down in the pseudo "Currency Principle." But the lessons of those terrible years and of other costly experiences, had been sufficient to teach and turn bankers from this false method of banking, and during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War the banks of the country had rapidly become organized, and reorganized in accord with the "Banking Principle." The soundness of the "Banking Principle," and the splendid efficiency of banks organized and conducted in accord with it had been unmistakably proven during the panic of '57. No bank of that kind had failed during the disastrous year, and very few had been forced to suspend; and these for only a very short time. The National Banking Act forced bankers to again face about and return to the alleged, but over and over again exploded, "Currency Principle," as a basis for bank organization. With the result that today there is no system of banking in the United States, merely on arbitrary arrangement; and in the whole country there is not a bank note in circulation which represents credit. Every bank note in circulation has cost more than its face value to bring it into being.

Against the counsels of the most eminent and efficient bankers of the country, and against the practically united opposition of all the banks of the country, the national banking arrangement was violently thrust upon the people. Existing banks, and the people were forced to submit, because to gain the end sought, administrative agencies, imposed the iniquitous and destructive 10 per cent tax upon all circulating notes of banks, other than those of national banks. In the absence of arbitrary arrangements thus set up, no banking or money monopoly could ever have grown into being!

For about twenty years prior to the war period, and especially so after the "Walker Tariff" of 1846, the trend of economic thought and of legislation, had been in favor, and towards the granting of freedom of trade. As an effect of the Civil War all this was changed; and as a further effect the long exploded "Mercantile System" was revived, rehabilitated and put into practice under guise and name of "Protection" and a "Protective Tariff." The theory of the "Mercantile System" is set up in the doctrine that wealth consists in the precious metals; that no trade is advantageous except that in which goods are exchanged for gold (and silver), and the one who parts with gold is injured thereby. Belief and acceptance of the "Mercantile Theory," constituted a resource exactly suited to the ambitions and purposes of rulers who sought conquest of the world; the subjugation and bringing of all peoples under personal despotic dominion and subjecting them to perpetual exactions of tribute.

Among the first, if not the first to exemplify and make practical application of the "Mercantile Theory," was Charles

V. of Spain. The present status of Spain, among Earth's nations, is truly representative of an outcome inevitable to a nation adhering to policies based upon the "Mercantile Theory." From a position of world dominance Spain has descended to such weakness and insignificance that she exerts no influence whatever. No nation of Earth today is relatively so strong as Spain was at the zenith of her power during the reign of Charles V.

If the alleged principles of the "Mercantile System" were true; if the claims set up in justification of policies of aggression and universal conquest had valid basis instead of being the weakest and poorest of nations, Spain would be the most powerful and richest. Belief in the doctrine that a nation's wealth depended upon aggression and conquest led the rulers of Spain to devote that country's energies and resources to war, to the end that gold might always be obtained for goods, and ever flow into the coffers of Spain. That war degrades and impoverishes victor as well as vanquished has been indubitably shown by Molonari in his book entitled "The Society of Tomorrow," and more recently by Norman Angell in a volume entitled "The Great Illusion."

The "Mercantile System" is no longer accepted as valid; and yet it is adhered to in practice by most of the nations of the world; and has been by the United States for more than forty years and up to date. Its continued vitality resides in the fact that it constitutes an ever available and agreeable resource for those who wish or choose to engage in policies of aggression. The essence of the theory of "Protection" is identical with that of the "Mercantile System." It is the claim of each theory that trade is beneficial to but one of the parties thereto; that profit for one is obtainable only through injury to the other. The value of goods sold must always exceed the value of goods bought so that the "balance of trade" shall always remain in favor of the seller—a balance to be paid in gold! The Congress passed a Tariff Bill based upon considerations identical with those of this long discredited theory, and a few years afterwards the man whose name this Bill bore became a successful candidate for the presidency. During the campaign which resulted in his election, he went about the country giving voice and the credence of a great name, to the pseudo doctrines of the "Mercantile System." The people were told that under "Protection" "the foreigner paid the tax," and "the balance of trade in favor of the country"—that is, excess in value of goods sold over goods bought—"would be paid in gold!" The doctrine is vicious in its falsity. Think of the ethical and moral purity, and the nobility of motive which seeks to make foreigners pay for the up-keep of home institutions, and to mulct them by trading away undesirable goods for the precious wealth of gold! Nothing is more vicious than influences born of notions which affirm the

legitimacy of getting something for nothing by artifice and trick.

The doctrines of "Protection" ignore, set aside, and nullify influences born of social instincts which tend to draw together and unite mankind in amiable and reciprocal association—in effect they are anti-social. But for the aggressions involved in making effective policies based upon the "Mercantile System," as exemplified by "Protection," and belief in its verity, wars between nations would have ceased long ago. The alleged principle of "Protection" affords justification for predatory impulse and activity, and in consequence constitutes the chief influence that keeps the war-spirit alive in the midst of industrial activity and operates to induce people to acquiesce while administrative agencies seize upon and devote so great a part of industry's product to the up-keep of great military establishments and a pursuit of war.

About two-thirds of the disbursements from the United States Treasury is for war purposes. Indeed, it is said that seventy per cent of expenditure is for maintenance of the military establishment and its relatives. In contrast it may be noted that two per cent is being spent for development of Agriculture! In the presence of military aggression, tariff aggression, general pillage and popular spoliation; and the wide disparity of individual fortune due to predatory activities, the people are soothed and lulled into acquiescence by priests who tell them it is God's will that things should so be; and by statesmen (?) who instruct the popular intelligence that "taxation is a means for distribution of wealth."

The Engineer, Colonel Goethals, under whose supervision and direction the Panama canal is being built, is reported to have said the enterprise was undertaken, and is being carried forward to completion, by the United States, "As a Military Necessity." No such declaration of purpose was made by anybody originally. It is when the canal approaches completion that it is declared that it was considerations having to do with "Military Necessity" which moved the men administering the government of the United States to engage in its building. The wish and will of the people was never sought or asked in any way by administrative agencies. When it was before the Congress, however, how far in its progress towards passage would the bill authorizing construction of the Panama canal have gotten if it had then been declared or even hinted, that upon its completion an army of at least 25,000 men would be required permanently as a defensive garrison? This is the statement made in the closing days of 1912 by Colonel Goethals. It was at first proposed that the canal zone be made "neutral," not that it should be fortified. But it now is made to appear that the proposition for neutrality was a subterfuge wherewith to cloak and conceal actual intention. For, certainly, the unanimi-



ty and vehemence with which all officers, from President down, now urge and insist that the canal be fortified gives verity to the declaration Goethals is reported to have made. But, what is to be said of the equivocal concealment of purpose on the part of "statesmen," politicians and engineers having the enterprise in mind and control, until a time when the work nears completion? If the canal is to be employed as an agency and instrument of peaceful trade and commerce and not for purposes of popular exploitation, that is to be world-wide in reach and scope, no "Military Necessity" for its building can be said to exist, and the vehement insistence for its fortification has no *raison d'être*. What may be looked for as an effect of an attitude which implies hostility to all the external world?

In the presence of and exposed to educational influences expressed through governmental policies habitually adhered to and continuously operative, whereby external peoples are viewed and treated as natural enemies, to be aggressed upon and exploited, is it not natural and to be expected that within the political organization itself, there should grow into operative being a corresponding development; that there should arise Trusts, Combinations, Employers' Associations, Trades Unions, and the like, organized with a view to predatory policies and devoted to methods and schemes of popular spoliation?

Before his appointment to office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Governor Hughes was reported as having said: "It is needed to put an end to corrupt alliances between business and politics." No mention of cause for such alliances was made; necessity related solely to wiping out an effect. The proposition relates to regulative control of men; not at all to change of organization, or the influences whereby men are affected. The political organization being militant as it is, therefore unsuited to activities other than aggressive and predatory; and "politics" having to do with determining the policies of the organization, it becomes in the nature of things and unavoidable, that "Interests" should seek and effect alliances. A political organization suited to requirements of aggression only, and devoted to pillage and spoliation must share the spoils with "Interests" or itself go out of "Business;" and of "Statesmen" there are none who would consent that the State should go out of "Business."

When fact is stripped of all pretense whereby it is hidden and made to appear otherwise, does it not become clear: "That there is no politics in politics," but that "it is a great game," in which power is to be won by art, trick and subterfuge—and these failing, by fraud? That it is a "great game" whereby those engaged in it seek power to the end that they may organize and conduct "political" and "business" activities so they may "legally" get something for nothing? When the truth is noted and properly weighed does it any longer appear strange that

those who make the "political game" their profession and vocation should become so intoxicated with its excitement that they lose all sense of ethical and moral consideration and seek only to win? Does it seem strange that men so engaged should at last become affected with honest belief that the "prosperity" of the country and the welfare and well-being of its people depended upon their own, and their party's success in gaining power; that the end sought justified means, and they should engage in trick, artifice, subterfuge, all manner of deceit and fraudulent manipulation, for purpose of effecting and controlling elections? That opportunity offering, they should even "count out," or "count in," to gain desired results?

Always it is that political discussion and activity is directed towards determining who shall govern and who shall be governed; to the subordination, if not the exclusion of every other consideration. It is time that that which determines the limit of free and spontaneous activity on the part of individuals received serious thought and attention.

It is said that war has proved an aid to the advancement of civilization. On the contrary such progress as has been made in intellectual growth, the growth and development of ethical and moral concepts, and the civilizing refinements that have come into being, has been in spite of influences born of war, and not at all because of them. Intellectual growth, ethical principles and moral ideas received original exciting impetus from influences born of trade and commerce. When men began to exchange economic quantities, they began to exchange views and ideas, and out of these beginnings grew the culture that made subsequent civilization possible. The testimonies of the past show that people after having made considerable advances towards civilization have often become rebarbarized by war. That which appeals to and excites the brute in man does not civilize; it is the refinements of peace that soften, refine and exalt human nature and not the bloodthirst and cruelty of war!

Agriculture has reached its highest general development in America. The impetus which led to present states of development was gained during the infancy and youth of the nation, and before its taxing power was employed to raise immense revenues in support of a vast military establishment and to further purposes of national aggrandizement. But now the nation has become a great "World Power," and its taxing power takes, directly and indirectly, one-half the earnings of the people and dissipates them in promotion of militancy abroad, and "predatory business" at home; the boys who were born and reared on the farm are turning away from agriculture and the girls are following them to the cities. The deadly blight of military absolutism is being felt in America in ways that correspond to what has long been experienced in Europe. With the development of militancy and the splendors of a plutocracy born of it,

the old contempt for agriculture is being revived, everywhere the rural population remains stationary, or is diminishing. Iowa, with a soil unsurpassed in fertility by any in the world, during the ten-year period between 1900 and 1910 showed a marked decrease of rural population. The peace of the farm is too uneventful; the poison of the war spirit fills young men's minds with desire for conquest and power to dominate fellowmen, and to extort tribute from all mankind. The farm presents no opportunity for exercise of the power that goes with acquisition of great wealth; the farmer is of the class "too contemptible to fight," so farming is becoming contemptible!

Purposes of aggression moved administrative agencies to employ taxation to the end that certain lines of industry may be made exploitive by giving those engaged in them power for tribute over their fellowmen. This power was cloaked and concealed under the euphemism of "Protection." Everywhere and always taxation is indissolubly associated with aggression. Stripped of verbiage, reduced to bare fact, the basis of taxation is kingly prerogative; sheer arbitrary power—the *Imperium*. Since "Protection" became the avowed policy of the United States the accumulation of gigantic fortunes in individual hands has proceeded with amazing rapidity. Industrial maladjustment, wide disparity of individual fortune, with concomitant splendors of enormous wealth in individual hands, are presented in ways which excite the envy and cupidity of the thoughtless, and provoke grave inquiry and alarm among intelligent and thoughtful.

All members of society are not equally capable of noting causes and reasoning from them to their effects; and those most intelligent are frequently moved by feeling instead of judgment. Millions who toil, do not reason at all; they have no time; they only feel. In the Press and Magazines much is being written; and from the pulpit and rostrum much is being said about "unscrupulous financiers" and the managing heads of great trading and manufacturing combinations by way of criticism and denunciation. Almost without exception what is being written and said carries the implication that the evil practices of those criticized and denounced are due to inherent qualities of depravity in human nature. The fact that the activities of men who are engaged in piling up "swollen fortunes" are directly excited, generally actually authorized, by the State is ignored or designedly concealed. As a result there is a belief among the masses, which is daily becoming more and more general and deeply confirmed, that the wealth of the rich, in some unjust way, has been taken by its possessors themselves from the hard-earned and rightful belongings of those who work and remain poor. The poor think they have been robbed, directly and designedly by the rich, so they view the rich with feelings of distrust, if not with enmity and hatred.



Will people who are intelligent assert that no cause for suspicion exists; that there is nothing to justify the feelings of those whose lot it is to be compelled to take their place among wage-workers who are to always remain propertyless? How is it that in the presence of inexhaustible resource—in the presence of abundance for all, so many work hard and remain all their lives propertyless and destitute?

It is not for lack of self-supporting capacity in fair fields; it is not because of improvidence or "criminal" instincts and tendencies; it is not because of indisposition to work or idleness, that many are unable to gain an honest livelihood. Everybody has capacity and willingness to do something; and even among the alleged criminals, none are to be found who do not wish for that which would be "fair and right" for all. Few are to be found anywhere who are not animated by desire to act in capacity of "brother's keeper;" to so rule him that he will do justice; to so safeguard him that he will receive justice. In the presence of universal goodness of intention, earnestness of desire and purpose to do, and see that justice is done, how are the wickedly inhuman, terribly unjust and inequitable relations and conditions of the existing order to be accounted for? Is it that all men are liars and cheats? That all expressions of desire for equitable conditions, and purpose of obtainment is sheer pretense? Surely not that.

Is it not true, rather, that some constantly operating external influence so affects every member of society that they are irresistibly, but unconsciously, driven to engage in conduct inconsistent, and in direct conflict, with inherent desire and purpose? Over and over again in presence of some accident whereby the authority of political government has been suddenly abrogated or nullified, it has been shown that all thus affected, irrespective of race, nationality or previous educational training, become at once both amiable and decent. Under such conditions a spirit of mutual respect and confidence is manifested; the spirit of brotherly love prevails, and all engage in co-operative effort for the mutual and reciprocal good of all. Nobody stops to ask in what, or how much they are to be paid. Everywhere and always, it is only in presence and under influences which descend upon them from political government that mankind engage in frenzied effort for obtainment of unfair and throat-cutting advantage over one another. It is only under conditions of so-called "law and order" that the disorder of anti-social practices maintain. With the "king-thing" dethroned, and its arbitrary authority swept away, it is invariable that the order of amity and fair-dealing prevails.

That which is true is made true and accepted as being true, because of testimony presented in unvarying uniformity. If from certain antecedent conditions certain results invariably proceed they become connectedly associated as antecedent and conse-



quent; and by the intelligent are recognized and accepted as cause and effect. There is no other way. The sole avenue open for distinguishing truth and separating it from error consists in that uniformly presented by the testimonies of experience; no truth has been discovered by any other process or through any other channel. Now, inasmuch, as invariable experience has shown that in absence of arbitrary authoritative compulsion from political government, people become kindly and gently disposed towards one another; that instead of being brutal and inconsiderate they are humane and considerate, is it not reasonable that truth resides in the inference that it is influences which descend upon them from political government that affect people so that they become anti-social in their behavior? Nay more. Is it not to be accepted beyond all dubitation that freedom is the mother of order? And in the absence of political government disorder born of compulsion will disappear?

The nature of things has placed a limit upon human understanding which makes it impossible that anyone should know the requirements of another; or what their requirements may become. Consequently it is impossible that anyone should know what would be fair, right and just for another. No one knows what is required for the best good of self. The limit of understanding relates to self-requirement; so the true and only safe guide for regulation of conduct is purely egoistic in connotation and bearing, and consists in habitual avoidance of doing to another anything which would offend if done to self. No one knows or can know of what justice consists, but a fairly good idea of what would be injurious and therefore unjust to self, is in the minds of all; so whatever of truth there is to be found for proper moral and ethical guidance lies in the direction of examining the effect of things upon self, and not at all in the direction of guidance by external authority.

That it is not the restraints put upon people by constituted authority which hold and keep them in order is abundantly shown by testimony presented by various peoples of Earth. The American Indian affords striking illustrations. They go to war—rarely, they commit murder, because they believe in blood atonement for personal injury. Claims to property receive universal recognition and respect. Liars and cheats are unknown; and the thief is practically non-existent. No licentiousness; and except those recently made so by white men, as in Alaska, no prostitutes. No jails or arbitrary restraints of any kind. Among the Creeks and Choctaws, those tried and condemned to death for murder are permitted to remain at large, to come and go at will, until day for execution arrives, when the condemned unfailingly appear and pay the penalty. Are people with white complexions less capable or less willing than untutored red men to recognize and conform to traditional principles of ethics and morals? Are they inferior in such respects, to the Creeks and

Choctaws? The testimony of experience proves the contrary; for where confidence is shown; where men are trusted without oath or other formality, implying they are not to be trusted, cases in which confidence and trust is violated are exceptionally rare. Even those who are called criminals, who are released and given restricted liberty from penal institutions, under conditions which imply so much of distrust as to be calculated to excite feelings of shame, humiliation and resentment, if not of anger, violations of "parole" are so infrequent that they rarely run into percentages expressed in double figures. In the absence of compulsory measures and questioning restraints people everywhere and at all times, with most rare exception, refrain from aggressive acts and do as they agree.

That which pleases, or offends self, at once and unmistakably, appeals to the understanding; so it is in the nature of things that the only genuine and intelligible guide to such general conditions of fairness and justice as are humanly attainable reside in that which affects each individual pleasurably or painfully. However, the pains and miseries born of the deforming and destroying effects of arbitrary measures employed by "constructive statesmen" obsessed with high ideals and animated with humanitarian impulses will have to be borne until such time as those who have grown intelligently selfish are become sufficiently numerous and influential to cause a falling off in demand for the follies and futilities embodied in "constructive legislation." Ideals affecting other's good; unrelated to genuine and untrammelled expressions of human nature; born, simply, of notions as to what "ought to be," are intensely stimulating and most satisfying to would-be governors. They constitute a most agreeable resource for the spirit of dominion whereby all would-be kings and governors are animated; every phase of despotism and tyranny may be justified thereby.

It will be a long time before "constructive statesmen" cease to obstruct by going out of business, for the course of general thought is still under guide and control of those who adhere to the "intuitive" school of philosophy. It is assumed that Man came into his present state of being as a creation, and not as a subject of developmental growth. Hence man's moral nature is "innate;" moral concepts are born of "intuition" and not of any originating impulse growing out of sensuous experience. Everything is attributed to and explained by spiritual agency. Imagination being untrammelled in its flight by no opposing disagreeable fact all explanations are affected with mysticism and ecstasy. In every field except Statecraft and Priestcraft all thought rests upon materialistic basis. In all other fields the mechanistic theory of origins and mechanistic explanations of being have gained supremacy. "Statesmen," and priests alone refuse to accept or contemplate facts which cannot be distorted and twisted into justifying accord with belief. They believe

first and seek to prove afterwards. But the law of continuity from the past suggests with the force of verity that the mechanistic theory of origins and mechanistic explanations of being will triumph in the political field; and finally, even in that which is now devoted to theology. "Statesmen" accept for their rule and guide the notion there is an Imperative Rule of Right, of which Man has "intuitive" cognition; but on account of "innate" tendencies no heed will be given these "intuitive" admonitions in an absence of means and measures for compelling observance and conformity. Hence the necessity for political absolutism—government. Also, the necessity and justification for war; for against people who neglect or refuse to observe and conform to a Rule of Right which is Imperative, War becomes not only justifiable, but a moral necessity!

The validity of assumptions concerning origins of ethical concepts and moral ideas need not here be inquired into; only the validity of the ideas themselves. The test of goodness or badness of anything consists in examining and weighing its fruit; that which is good bears good fruit. Because of influences born of militancy trade and commerce have become spoliative in tendency. That which is called "business" consists in so organizing and conducting its activities that something for nothing may be obtained. Business does not consist in exchanging equivalent services in the form of economic quantities, but in getting "all the traffic will bear;" the more obtained the better the "business"—the greater the fortune thus gained the more highly esteemed are those who conduct the "business." It is not that trade is reciprocal, but is of the nature ascribed to it in the theory of the "Mercantile System." In practice the conduct of "business" is along the line expressed by the notion that only one party to an exchange can be benefited; the other must suffer injury. A rule of procedure consistent only with aggressive activity; that is, hostility and war. It is because of influences born of and associated with such notions that it is everywhere assumed as an economic truth, that in exchange of economic quantities there should always remain, with one party to the exchange, a surplus value—an agio, which is to be viewed and accepted as legitimate spoil—a spoil the nature of which is softened and concealed under the euphemism of "PROFIT."

Every service performed should be requited with an equivalent, but why more? Why should there be any surplus value remaining in the hands of anyone? Is there in ethics or morals any principle whereby "Profit" may be justified? Everyone is entitled to receive equivalent return for services performed; that is, to receive whatever may have been earned. Is there anyone who is intelligent and candid who is prepared to say that some are entitled to receive more than is earned, and thereby oblige another, or others, to receive less? If so, it is incumbent



on them to prove validity and justify "Profit," something that no one has yet done.

The State has adopted and habitually employs methods of taxation which affect industrial activity so that some are enabled to acquire exorbitant "profits," because many are thereby subjected to unfair discrimination and thus made to carry an undue share of social burden. To see that taxation, in its effects, rests with disproportionate weight upon those least able to bear it under existing arrangements, needs no acute power of discernment, or extensive inquiry.

Existing arrangements are not only unjust, but they are inexpedient; for when the one time unsuspecting, but now suspicious, toilers find out, as they surely will, that all devices wherein it has been pretended that the burden of sustaining the politico-social organization was being shifted off them, onto some one else, have always been, still remain, and must remain, mere shams; that these devices have not only never been what was alleged; have never and can never produce promised effects, but for every indirection whereby the burden of taxation was said to have been removed from "labor," it has come back in some way concealed, always with an overcharge, and instead of taxation ever having been placed upon some one else, it has rested with crushing weight upon them all the time; and with more intensity than if it had been directly so placed at first—when the awakening comes what will happen? When it is found the "cause of high cost of living" resides in taxation, and nowhere else, what will the long and much wronged workers do; the people whose acts are mostly directed and controlled by feeling; and whose ideas of redress and justice, in common with those expressed by constituted authority itself, is retaliation? Is it not probable that Life Insurance Companies having rich men for risks will feel impelled to go out of business the first day after these people wake up? In view of what may and probably will happen, would it not be better if administrative agencies of government dealt fairly and honestly with all? That instead of any part of revenue being taken by stealth, and unawares, every one should be directly dealt with and honestly affected?

Under existing arrangements taxes are laid in accordance with the theory of benefit conferred by government, and received by the individual; in accordance with the doctrine that those should be made to pay who are best able; in accordance with the doctrine of equal sacrifice; in accordance with theories of progression, of succession, of graduation, and in accordance with the dogmas of "Protection." They are laid upon this, that, here, there, and everywhere, but never in harmony with requirement of justice. It is said that taxes are inevitable! And so they will be, and remain confiscatory and destructive as long as people submit to the militancy of Imperial Power!

Taxes inevitable! Aye! But why? and what for? Are

taxes more inevitable than food, raiment and shelter? Is it the purpose of human life to pay taxes? Do people live solely that they may contribute their lives and energies to support political government? Is the exaction of tax-payment the aim and end of co-operative political association? Or is it an incident? Is government an end? Are people to be considered only as slaves of the organization? Or is the organization, when properly considered, an agency, employed by people, as a means for accomplishment of desired social ends?

It is asserted by apologists for the existing order, that political complexity and comprehensiveness necessarily increase with advance of civilization; and, as a matter of course, the demand for public revenues must enlarge as government becomes complex and comprehensive. But will the defenders of Imperialism say that necessity for regulative restraint of people increases and multiplies as they rise in intellectual and moral development? Will they say that proportionately as people cease to be barbarous and rude, become gentle and refined, the mechanism and appliances for forcibly keeping them in order must be strengthened, broadened and multiplied? Will they say, as people advance in intellectual and moral development they become more and more aggressive, less and less capable of discerning, recognizing and conforming to peaceful customs, usages and amicable dealings with each other? Is it not true, rather, that all these claims for necessity of enlargement and increase of government, in its power, scope and comprehensiveness, is sheer hypocritical subterfuge whereby actual reasons and purposes are cloaked and concealed? Is it not true that those who wield and exercise authority are ever cowardly and dare not openly avow purpose? Is it not true that the real reason for political government, and all that relates to regulative control of people by physical force, resides in love of dominion and lust for power that has grown and developed in the minds of men because of association with influences born of war and warlike activities; influences operative continuously, extending back in origin through all the ages of the past until their effects have become incorporated in the human make-up as an inherent and predisposing heritage? What is the testimony of experience? Does not the testimony of the past show beyond dubitation that once man is invested with authority, invariably and inevitably, he seeks to broaden and extend the reach of authoritative jurisdiction? Is it not a maxim, among the judiciary, that a good Judge ever seeks to enlarge the scope of his jurisdiction? Are men who act as Judges different from others in personal attribute and desire?

Taxes are inevitable! But is it also inevitable that power of taxation shall be so employed that in effect it will mark off invidious and unjust discriminations and distinctions? Discriminations and distinctions which excite ever increasing ani-

mosities among those affected, finally separating and arraying them into distrusting antagonistic groups; the members of each group so stirred with bitterness of feeling that they face each other in warlike attitude and with angry threat?

If organized government can be justified; if there is ethical warrant for existence of the State, there must be a just way whereby the revenue for its sustentation may be raised. The unwillingness to pay that people have always shown in connection with taxation, and their resistance to it, has been and now is, due to the fact that no fair and honest way has ever been proposed, much less tried. If there is a science of political organization, there must be a scientific and just way whereby funds for up-keep of political organization may be obtained. Whatever of difference subsists between the preachments of the misruling politicians and misguiding priests of today, from those who misruled and misguided during all the ages of the past practice still proceeds upon the hypothesis that the earnings of fools by Divine Right is the patrimony of clever men.

Notwithstanding practices to the contrary, which have prevailed during all historic time, Politics rightly viewed and considered, is the science of organizing people into co-operatively associated groups in accord with right ethical lines and true ethical principles. A scientific organization of society cannot be arbitrarily effected. It cannot be accomplished as a subject of manufacture; it only remains to leave people so unaffected and unobstructed by arbitrary limitations that their relations may grow right; and in that way gain as nearly as the nature of human nature will permit as close on approach as possible to scientific organization. Any organization of society whatsoever involves obtainment of requisite funds from its members for continuous sustentation. In the nature of things public income, or revenue, must be drawn from the wealth of society. The wealth of society is the sum total of economic quantities that come into existence in response to a demand arising from the desires and wants of the people who compose it. Taxation, therefore, either in form of compulsory exaction or voluntary contribution, must rest as a privation upon all who are affected; and if the burden of privation is to be fairly distributed the amount of tax, or contribution, must be measured and fixed proportionate to the value of some instrument universally employed in satisfying the desires and wants of each individual member of the organization.

Under conditions in which people were freed from all inhibitions imposed by political government satisfaction of individual desires and wants would be attended only by evils incident to free and open competition; the cure for such evils must be left to be worked out and solved by the mutations of time. The State not only cannot do everything, but it is possible for it to do but very little; it is impossible even, that it



should defend people against aggression. But it is possible for the political organization itself to be kept from attempts to enforce compliance with arrangements in aid of aggression. In arbitrary limitations imposed by the State—limitations that restrict non-invasive activities, thereby defeating natural expressions of human endeavor, resides the cause of friction, irritation, and antagonisms shown in warring industrial strifes, everywhere presented in this country, and the world. The State by making necessity for revenue an excuse and opportunity for affording special interests a chance to obtain undue and unfair advantage, constantly fomenting strife by increasing aggression, instead of defending people from it.

As a result, everywhere in this country and the world, there are ever increasing manifestations of social discontent, unrest and turbulency. All see and all feel the evils from which they suffer, but few have powers of penetration adequate to discovery of the source from which they arise and flow, and to distinguish their true character. Those who are hurt most are least capable of engaging in discriminating examination and analysis of underlying forces relating to source and character of the evils which descend upon them with such crushing and destructive impact. They do not know that they are being used by those who conduct and administer political agencies, merely as tools whereby the machinery of the State is kept running, and that it is the weight of the State that bears down upon them with such inexorable and killing severity. Because of ignorance, and cupidity born of it, the masses continue to listen to demagogic appeal and promise, to vote as directed, and find vent for bitterness of feeling in fierce denunciation of Trusts and Monopolies, and expressions of hatred for the Rich; that is, against effects of the State, instead of the real cause, the State itself.

It needs no prophetic vision to penetrate and interpret the future to enable a foretelling that it will not be possible for political agencies to go much further, or to much longer persist in methods which are now being employed before the existing order will be disturbed and shaken by outbreaks of physical violence, ever increasing in volume and intensity; until at last, there shall come a tremendous, uncontrollable upheaval, like the French Revolution, which will sweep all before it and deluge the land with blood.

To so employ the taxing power as to wring from the people the largest possible part of results of their industry and to distribute the immense booty thus seized, in such a manner that the operation can be repeated annually forever, presents a problem requiring Machiavellian ability and art for its solution. To keep the political machinery running whereby people are continuously robbed, there must not only be concealment of method, but a great number of citizens who are intelligent, but made

unscrupulous, must be sufficiently bribed to induce them to aid, or remain quiet, while the despicable work goes on; and the cupidity of the less intelligent must be excited sufficiently to make them feel and believe that they too, are made, or are about to be made, beneficiaries. No careful and intelligent observer, who is candid, will deny that most of the expenditures for what are called public improvements; all the legislation "in the interest of Labor;" and much else, are bribes, offered by those who control administrative agencies, to voting constituencies.

In this way voters, in ever increasing numbers, are continuously impressed with the notion that political government, instead of being an instrumentality the purpose of which is to safeguard, and to secure to individuals a certainty of holding and enjoying unmolested the results of self-exertion; and to maintain just relations among men, is a means whereby the clever, who "vote right," are enabled, under legal forms, to obtain and enjoy the fruits of other's toil. These influences, operating generation after generation, have produced moral lesions which have become general—lesions which may be properly held responsible for the official corruption and bribery which prevails in every walk of public life.

With taxation so laid that its incidence would be fairly and justly distributed by a just system; the moneys paid into public treasuries in the form of taxes, would represent to the payer the price of all the benefits derived from living in society; simply an essential and necessary part of the cost of living. The gross injustice, the morally corrupting and degrading influences of present arrangements is apparent to the commonest intelligence. So monstrous, so cruel are the effects of existing methods of taxation that it would seem as if every self-respecting member of society must be driven to ask for adoption of equitable method; and failing in this, to join with others in united refusal to pay any taxes at all.

Taxation falls upon the individuals who compose society as an enforced privation; the more taxes paid the greater the privation. Instruments used to satisfy desire and want are taxed and those who use them are made to suffer disproportionately because some are enabled through operation of the taxing power to shift the burden of privation onto others. Those who pay in the first instance recoup themselves by passing it on to the next buyer of the taxed instrument, with an overcharge for profit, until finally those are reached who pay only in privation. Those who fully recoup themselves suffer nothing of privation; but proportionate to inability to thus defend and protect themselves privation becomes intensified. Some suffer but small privation, but as effect of taxation passes from one to another in its descent through all social ranks and conditions an ever-increasing severity of privation is suffered. Millions are borne down



to the very bottom where submerged in depths of deepest privation and misery they eke out a miserable existence until increased susceptibility to disease brings kindly death to take them away. Among these millions the death rate is appalling, but hopelessness of situation and bitterness of privation must often, if not always, make it appear that death accords a blessed relief.

It is said: "The poor pay no taxes; having nothing with which to pay!" Unfortunately many, if not most, people believe this to be true—at least habit and action is inconsistent with disbelief. Taxes are paid; and they are paid out of results of productive industry, there is no other possible source from which they can be drawn. People live on the products of their labor; and no keenness of mental vision is required to see and determine that a taking away of part of labor's results means that all so affected will be made thereby less able to place desire and want in gratified states; they will suffer privation proportionate to amount taken away; some want will remain unsatisfied, some desire to burn in vain, because means of gratification has been taken away. Every cent of public revenue raised subjects some one to privation to that extent; and those members of society whose sole dependence for livelihood consists in wages received, being most defenseless, suffer greater privation than any other class. Much the greater part of moneys raised by taxation are devoted to purposes of war.

Armies are composed of those who live by labor of their hands, and the cost of maintaining armies is paid in privation by the same class. Those who live by their wits neither fight nor pay. Those who employ wit in service pay in privation the same as others. So it remains with workingmen themselves to determine if there shall be war and misery or peace and happiness. If they will but refuse to go forth as soldiers, to kill and be killed, there will be no more of war, and no more of incident privation and misery. The workingmen having thus become wise it can no longer be said: "The earnings of fools by Divine Right is the patrimony of clever men!"

It has been shown in another chapter that one half the annual earnings of the people of the United States are forcibly taken from them to support political government, and the parasites it creates. If the sums which aggregate this enormous annual exaction were left in the hands that earned them they would remain available for use in satisfying individual wants; the privations now suffered would not be felt; in the absence of these privations almost everybody would become self-supporting, and poverty would practically disappear. Poverty would disappear because its cause would be recognized and made inoperative. It is clear that an agency instrumental in filching from people one-half their earnings must be the cause for their poverty. Taxation is not only the cause of poverty, but the pinch of its privation drives people to alcoholic intemperance, to

crime, and all the vices incident to poverty; and the cause will remain operative until tax-incidence becomes fairly distributed and felt by those who are made to pay. Intelligent and adequate resistance to taxation can never become effectively presented until tax-incidence is sensibly felt by each individual tax-payer!

So long as methods of indirection and stealth are permitted, so long will those who carry the load remain poverty-stricken, so long will they work and grovel through their short and miserable lives, to the end that clever men may make the earnings of fools, by Divine Right, their patrimony.

If tax incidence is to become fairly and equitably distributed, the basis of taxation must be some instrument of production that stands exactly in the same relation to every desire and want. In other words, equitable taxation remains impossible unless the amount paid by each individual tax-payer is gauged and determined by the value of some economic quantity that is actually in continuous and universal use as an instrument of production whereby each individual's desires and wants are placed in gratified states. For until some basis that is universally true and exact, in its relativity to all, as a want-satisfying instrumentality, is used as a guide and measure in apportioning taxation, equity in distribution of incidence is impossible of attainment. In another chapter it has been shown that there is but one such instrument—Land.

It is pretended that taxes are now laid upon those who are possessed with property, but such is not the case, nor is it possible to do any such thing. For the things that have value, and are called Property are merely instruments which, in the hands of labor, minister to desire and want; and unless the instrument is consumed wholly by its possessor the tax put upon it will not stay where originally placed, but, ultimately, will be paid by those whose desires and wants are satisfied through its employment as an instrumentality. A tax placed upon an economic quantity employed as an instrument to produce an article of food necessitates an exchange of more of something else before that food can be obtained; and who so buys and eats the food will inevitably bear the burden of the tax. A tax placed upon an economic quantity used as an instrument in production of articles of raiment will unfailingly rest upon whosoever buys and wears those articles. Suppose a tax is placed upon a stock of groceries, the tax in the first instance would be paid by the grocery keeper, but, ultimately it will be paid by those who buy and consume the groceries. Suppose a tax placed upon a cloth mill. The owner will pay no part of the tax except the portion represented by the value of cloth devoted to personal use, and consumed by self. It is obvious that taxes wherever originally placed finally rest upon and are paid by the person whose desires and wants are satisfied through use of the instrument taxed. It is in this way that those who are propertyless are

made to pay taxes. A tax upon land would be paid in the first instance by the landlord, but ultimately by those who bought and consumed the products of the land. Land is not singular to other want-satisfying instrumentalities in respect to taxation, and ultimate payment. The greater the amount raised by taxation the higher prices are made, and the greater popular privation becomes; for privation consists in inability to satisfy want, and in incompleteness of want, satisfaction.

Taxes rest upon desire and want, because the cause of all Wealth springs from desire and want. There is no such thing as absolute Wealth. There is nothing which is in its own nature Wealth; for whether anything is Wealth or not depends entirely on its being desired, wanted and demanded. Wealth is produced in various ways, but it comes into economics solely in response to Demand that springs from human desire and want. A tax placed upon an economic quantity does not stay where originally put, but through exchange is shifted from one individual to another until the one is reached whose desires and wants are satisfied by consuming the product of the thing taxed, or the thing itself.

If all taxes were assessed against some economic quantity that stood in like relation to every individual member of the political organization as an instrumentality through the use of which all desires and wants were placed in gratified states, (Land Parcels), each individual would pay a share proportioned to the number of desires and wants satisfied, and the degree of satisfaction in which they were placed. As the desires and wants of mankind increase in number and intensity with increase of ability to gratify, it follows, as a matter of course, that under an arrangement of that kind, those who were strongest and most capable would pay most, while those who were weak and incapable would pay least. The requirements of justice would be met; for those who derived most benefit from the collectivity would pay most, while those who derived least would pay least. Some economic writers have asserted that the poor and weak receive greater benefit from the State than the rich and strong; but it is not and cannot be true. Men endowed with great capacities engage themselves in large undertakings and extensive activities and, *a fortiori*, require more and receive greater benefit from the collectively organized all than those endowed with small and weak capacities.

Distinctions among men are accidental, nothing more. Those who are propertyless under existing arrangements are made so by accident of the time in which they live. In point of number the Have-Nots are in overwhelming majority, but in common with the Haves, the Have-Nots are animated with the same beliefs, actuated by the same motives, and seek like obtainments. It is not that people are prone to evil, or designedly do evil; but being constantly affected by influences which descend upon them



from a bad political organization; an organization that has grown into being in response to supposititious needs born of erroneous beliefs, they have become anti-social. A militant organization, devoted to purposes of aggression and war, is unsuited to requirements of people engaged in co-operative industry and non-invasive pursuits of peace. Belief in the virtue of aggression and the efficacy of war for attainment of right ends is an inheritance of the past. Belief in the virtue and necessity for compelling force is so universal that nearly all are thus affected. Humanitarians and those devoted to obtaining of conditions of universal peace, deny their preachments by invoking measures of compulsion.

The existing order was born of force, is sustained by force; it is the apotheosis of Force. It is impossible that it should be forcibly reformed; made to right-about-face and stand for peace. Employment of compulsion can operate only to confirm opinion as to the validity of belief in war! The injunction to fight the devil with fire is vicious nonsense. The devil cannot be defeated with fire; he knows all about fire; he's used to it. And any who are vain and foolish enough to engage with his Satanic Majesty with fire—his own weapon—will inevitably suffer defeat. Those who believe in Peace must cease to advocate and practice War, before there can be Peace.

That mankind should co-operate is in the nature of things. It is impossible that Man should live either in individual or collective capacity unless he co-operates. Man must co-operate or cease to be; so it is not at all necessary that artificial measures of compulsion should be employed. The forces of nature affect people impartially, there are no personal favorites. Not before, but as soon as people become wise enough to put aside present beliefs, and considerable numbers of them refuse longer to recognize the authority, or engage themselves in the service of a State militantly organized, will the dawn of Peace and conditions of social justice be at hand. When the masses refuse to bear arms or to engage in any act of an invasive or aggressive nature the day of their emancipation will have arrived. So long as they cling to superstitions born of the past, continue to vote for aggressive power, remain willing to go forth as soldiers to conquer and subjugate, to kill and to be killed, they will remain enslaved to a militant despotism, which they themselves support and maintain. And so long will it remain true: The earnings of fools by Divine Right is the patrimony of clever men.



## A PROCLAMATION

*"Whenever you have met a dozen men pledged to a new idea--  
Wherever you have met them, you have met the beginning of a  
revolution"—Wendell Phillips.*

We, the undersigned, representatives of "the changing order" in conference assembled at Henning, Minnesota, this 4th day of July, 1913, being firmly impressed with the conviction that the time is now ripe for a more harmonious, tranquil and symmetrical basis of social inter-relationships, do hereby issue a call for a MASS CONVENTION to assemble at Minneapolis, Minnesota, at noon the third day of July, 1914, for the purpose of considering, modifying, amending or adopting the following preamble and resolutions:

"WHEREAS, the progress of human intelligence from primitive superstitions toward enlightenment has consisted always of a growing ability to discriminate between what is real and what is false, and

"WHEREAS, the securing to every human being an undisputed foothold upon the earth will make all other social problems easier of solution. and

"WHEREAS, the common illusion that land can be owned has already persisted too long to the detriment of every individual resident upon this planet and to the entire destruction of satisfactory social relations,

"BE IT RESOLVED by all the men and women hereunto subscribing that from and after the first day of January, 1920, we will no longer recognize the validity of any land title howsoever granted except such as is based upon the occupancy and use of land,

"AND FURTHERMORE, we pledge ourselves from said date to stand by for the protection of the tenure of all who then are and shall thereafter become occupiers and users of land, against invasion of any and every kind to the full extent that the force of an awakened and enlightened public opinion shall be available and effective."

All men and women who have sufficiently developed the sense of humor to perceive the gigantic fallacy of vested rights to land by any tenure save that of occupancy and use are invited to attend this convention. Attendance upon and participation in the deliberations of the conference does not necessarily involve the severance of any political, religious or other form of allegiance.

The place of meeting will be announced later. Further information and copies of this proclamation can be had by addressing

A. G. WAGNER,

708 Central Ave., Minneapolis. Minn.

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AUSTIN W. WRIGHT,  
395 North Perry St.,  
Pontiac, Mich.

## AFTER THOUGHT

*Force of circumstances compels a couple of radicals to get out two conservative weekly newspapers, The New Ulm Review (English) and The New Ulm Post (German). We entered upon this work absolutely ignorant of every detail of the newspaper game and in the two years we've been at it we have merely gained a foot-hold.*

*Our plan as outlined for the future is to give our readers as much advanced thought as they are able to accept. We do not believe one can tell a man anything he does not already know but we hope to help clarify the ideas now formulating in the minds of those who are beginning to think. If we succeed in this effort in any degree it will be enough.*

*Ideas and contributions from radicals will be warmly welcomed. New Ulm Post---\$2.00; Albert Steinhauser, Editor. New Ulm Review---\$1.50; H. Payne, Editor.*

*We make a specialty of fine job printing and find our greatest pleasure in getting out radical literature similar to this pamphlet.*

**NEW ULM PUBLISHING CO, New Ulm, Minn.**







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